

## Message Text

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67

ORIGIN PM-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-10 ACDA-19 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLOSACLANT

S E C R E T STATE 179893

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PARM, NATO, PFOR

SUBJECT: MBFR: GUIDANCE ON REVISED SECTION II (ALLIED  
POSITION) FOR SEPTEMBER 11 SPC MEETING

REFS: A. NATO 4154

B. NATO 4184

C. STATE 161267

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1. FOLLOWING GUIDANCE ON SECTION II IS KEYED TO NUMBERED  
PARAS REVISED IS DRAFT PER REF A.

2. PARA 3. YOU MAY ACCEPT DELETION OF BRACKETED SECOND

SENTENCE. HOWEVER, IN SO DOING YOU SHOULD MAKE CLEAR WE ASSUME THIS POINT IS UNDERSTOOD WITHIN THE ALLIANCE.

3. PARA 4 BIS. YOU MAY ACCEPT PARA 4 BIS AS PART OF PARA

4. WE ASSUME PARENTHETICAL PHRASE UNDER DEFINITION OF "STAGE" IS UNBRACKETED INTEGRAL PART OF DEFINITION.

4. PARA 4, FOOTNOTE ON FRENCH FORCES. YOU SHOULD PROPOSE ADDITION OF PHRASE READING "ALTHOUGH FRENCH FORCES IN THE FRG ARE COUNTED IN FIGURES FOR NATO GROUND FORCES IN NG." IN NG.

5. PARA 5. IN DISCUSSION OF PARA 5, YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO OPPOSE INCLUSION OF THIS PARA IN ALLIED POSITION ON

GROUND THAT SUBJECT MATTER IS ALREADY ADEQUATELY TREATED IN SECRET GUIDELINES. AT SAME TIME, YOU SHOULD DRAW ON

- POINTS IN STATE 179893 TO EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE US ATTACHES TO UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL ALLIES AND US COMMITMENT TO DRIVE HOME THIS POINT THROUGHOUT NEGOTIATIONS WITH EAST. IF, DESPITE THIS PRESENTATION, DELETION IS UNACCEPTABLE TO ALLIES, YOU MAY ACCEPT FIRST TWO SENTENCES, ARGUING FOR DELETION OF THIRD ON GROUND THAT MEASURES MENTIONED HERE AND DEFINED IN PROPOSED PARA 12 BIS, IF PROPOSED TO EAST BY ALLIES, ARE LIABLE TO CAUSE GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS OF NEGOTIATIONS TO SHIFT FROM CENTRAL EUROPE, WHERE ALL ALLIES AGREE IT SHOULD BE, AND TO ENDANGER ACHIEVEMENT OF ALLIED MBFR GOAL OF REDUCTION OF TENSION AND STABILIZATION OF SITUATION IN MAJOR AREA OF EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION, CENTRAL EUROPE. IF THERE IS NONETHELESS ALLIANCE CONSENSUS FOR RETENTION OF SENTENCE IN SOME FORM, MISSION, AS SUGGESTED REF B; MAY PROPOSE MORE GENERALIZED FORMULATION "ALLIED PROPOSALS SHOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THIS OBJECTIVE AND SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE CONCERNS OF THE NATO FLANK COUNTRIES."

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6. PARA 6. YOU MAY ACCEPT SECOND SENTENCE PROPOSED BY FRG. RE BRACKETED SENTENCE ON APPLICATION OF CONSTRAINTS TO FORCES RATHER THAN TERRITORIES, YOU SHOULD EXPRESS DOUBT THAT IT WOULD BE FEASIBLE TO EXPRESS CONSTRAINTS ON FORCES WITHOUT DEFINING TERRITORIES OF APPLICATION IN SOME WAY, REQUEST SPECIFIC ILLUSTRATIONS OF MEASURES FAVORED BY PROPONENTS OF THIS LANGUAGE, AND MAKE GENERAL POINT THAT IN CASES LIKE THIS THE ALLIANCE SHOULD NOW FOCUS ON SPECIFIC PROPOSALS RATHER THAN DEFINITIONAL WORDING.

7. PARA 6(II-IV). YOU SHOULD REMAIN ALLIES THAT WE FAVOR DELETION OF BRACKETS AROUND THESE PROPOSALS.

8. PARA 6(III), LIMITS ON EXERCISES. WITH REGARD TO "LOCATIONS," YOU MAY EXPLAIN THAT IN MAKING SUCH A PROPOSAL, OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO LIMIT MAJOR EXERCISES TO WELL-KNOWN AND ESTABLISHED MAJOR TRAINING AREAS. MORE GENERALLY, OUR OBJECTIVE IN PROPOSING NEGOTIATIONS OF LIMITATIONS ON MAJOR EXERCISES IS TO SEEK TO DETER USE OF SUCH EXERCISES FOR POLITICAL PRESSURE OR COVERT BUILDUPS ON THE CZECHOSLOVAK PATTERN, AND WE CONTINUE TO ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO THIS GOAL. CONSEQUENTLY, YOU SHOULD NOT ACCEPT DELETION OF LIMITS ON EXERCISES.

9. FOOTNOTE TO PARA 6, ON POST REDUCTION MEASURES. YOU SHOULD PROPOSE AMENDMENT TO READ "THESE MEASURES COULD ALSO BE ENVISAGED AS MEASURES TO ACCOMPANY REDUCTIONS."

10. PARA 7, FIRST BRACKETED SENTENCE ON MODIFICATION OF FIGURES. YOU SHOULD OPPOSE, ARGUING THAT THE ALLIES WILL NEED CLARITY ON THE MAIN OUTLINES OF THEIR NEGOTIATING PROPOSAL BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS START IF THEY ARE TO NEGOTIATE EFFECTIVELY AND THAT PARA 3 ADEQUATELY PROVIDES FOR NECESSARY MODIFICATIONS OF ALLIED POSITION.

11. PARA 7, SECOND BRACKETED SENTENCE ON COMMON CEILING.  
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YOU MAY ACCEPT SENTENCE IF AMENDED TO READ "THE COMMON CEILING IS TO BE UNDERSTOOD AS APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND MANPOWER, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT COMBAT CAPABILITY AND DEPLOYMENT." IN SUPPORT OF OUR POSITION, YOU SHOULD POINT OUT SEPARATELY TO FRG DELEGATION THAT PROPOSALS TENDING TOWARD EQUIPMENT COMMON CEILING WILL MAKE SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF COMMON CEILING CONCEPT AND SECOND PHASE MORE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN. EMBASSY BONN SHOULD MAKE SAME POINT TO FRG FONOFF.

12. PARA 7, THIRD BRACKETED SENTENCE ON FLOOR. YOU SHOULD OPPOSE, ARGUING

CONCEPT OF  
LIMITS IS ALREADY ADEQUATELY COVERED IN SECTION ON GUIDELINES AND IN PROPOSED PARA 8 -- DESCRIPTION OF ALLIED REDUCTIONS -- WITH WHICH WE INTEND TO ABIDE. THIS IS FURTHER REASON WHY OUR VERSION OF PARA 8 SHOULD BE ACCEPTED.

13. PARA 8. WE FAVOR TEXT READING "WITHDRAWAL TO THEIR HOMELANDS OF SOME US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES FROM THE GUIDELINES AREA, AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARD THE OBJECTIVE DEFINED ABOVE, I.E. TOWARD AN OVERALL NATO/WP GROUND MANPOWER COMMON CEILING AT APPROXIMATELY 700,000 MEN ON EACH SIDE. THE QUESTION OF HOW SPECIFIC THE ALLIES WILL BE IN ILLUSTRATING THE COMMON CEILING IN THE INITIAL

STAGE IS DISCUSSED IN SECTION III." YOU MAY ARGUE THAT REFERENCE TO "CONFIDENTIAL GUIDANCE" IS UNNECESSARY, SINCE WHOLE SECTION II IS IN EFFECT CONFIDENTIAL GUIDANCE FOR INTERNAL USE OF ALLIANCE.

14. PARA 10, FOOTNOTE ON SIZE OF US WITHDRAWALS. YOU SHOULD MAINTAIN BRACKETS, STATING THAT US IS STILL ENGAGED IN FORMULATING PROPOSALS ON HOW US REDUCTION MIGHT BE TAKEN.

15. PARA 11(I). YOU SHOULD PROPOSE DELETION OF WORD "WITHDRAWAL," ARGUING THAT IT IS AMBIGUOUS AND THAT "REDUCTION" STANDING ALONE IS MORE STRAIGHTFORWARD.

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16. PARA 11(II). YOU MAY ACCEPT SECOND SENTENCE IF AMENDED TO READ "IN THIS SENSE, PROVISIONS SHOULD BE SOUGHT PERMITTING THE US TO STORE AND MAINTAIN US HEAVY EQUIPMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE IN ORDER TO OFFSET ETC." YOU MAY AT YOUR DISCRETION POINT OUT THAT IN SECTION II, ALLIES ARE DISCUSSING OBJECTIVES FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH EAST AND NOT INTRA-ALLIANCE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH MAY BECOME DESIRABLE AT SOME LATER TIME.

17. PARA 11(III). YOU SHOULD OPPOSE, DRAWING ON POINTS IN STATE 179893 CONCERNING US AWARENESS OF IMPORTANCE OF UNDIMINISHED AND INDIVISIBLE ALLIANCE SECURITY AND ON POINTS MADE ABOVE RE PARA 5 CONCERNING DANGERS OF EXPANDING GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS AND RISKING CHANCES OF ACHIEVING MAJOR AGREED MBFR GOALS.

18. HEADING BETWEEN PARAS 11 AND 12. "IF FRG PERSISTS, YOU MAY ACCEPT REVERSAL OF HEADING PROPOSED."

19. PARA 12(II). YOU SHOULD ARGUE ON BASIS OF PREVIOUS GUIDANCE THE IMPORTANCE US ATTACHES TO ACHIEVING AGREED LIMITATIONS ON SOVIET CAPACITY TO APPLY POLITICAL PRESURE ON THE CZECHOSLOVAK PATTERN THROUGH MOVEMENTS ACROSS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES WITHIN NGA. YOU SHOULD ALSO POINT OUT THAT IF THESE MEASURES ARE TO BE OF VALUE TO ALLIAN  
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